

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02744 091340Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 NSC-05 SP-02 L-03 H-02 OMB-01

TRSE-00 INR-07 CIAE-00 PRS-01 OES-06 SAJ-01 PM-04

EURE-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SS-15 SSO-00 EB-07 /078 W

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O R 091233Z APR 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9265

INFO USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2744

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECE, CSCE, PFOR, ENRG, ETRN, SENV

SUBJECT: ECE 31ST SESSION: SOVIET PROPOSAL AND LINKAGE TO
PRIORITY PROJECTS LIST

REF: A) GENEVA 2727; B) GENEVA 2729; C) STATE 81985

1. REFTELS A AND B CONTAINED, RESPECTIVELY, TEXT ON
SOVIET CONGRESS PROPOSAL AS TENTATIVELY AGREED TO AT
APRIL 8 EAST-WEST CONTACT GROUP MEETING AND AGREED
WESTERN CAUCUS TEXT OF DRAFT DECISION RPT DECISION
ON PRIORITY PROJECTS FOR EARLY IMPLEMENTATION BY ECE.

2. ALTHOUGH DRAFTED LAST WEEK, PRIORITY PROJECTS
LIST DID NOT GO FORWARD TO CONTACT GROUP UNTIL APRIL 7
DUE TO LENGTHY DISCUSSION WITHIN WESTERN CAUCUS ON ITS
WORDING. ITS PRESENTATION SEEMED TO CATCH EASTERNERS
BY SURPRISE AND SOVIETS REPEATEDLY COMPLAINED THAT
IT "NOT FAIR" TO PRESENT NEW PROPOSAL SO LATE IN SESSION.
THEY WERE PARTICULARLY ANGERED, AND FRUSTRATED, BY
WEST'S INSISTENCE THAT THERE COULD BE NO FINAL APPROVAL
GIVEN TO ANY ITEM OF BUSINESS UNTIL THERE WAS
AGREEMENT ON ALL OF THEM.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02744 091340Z

3. AS RESULT OF THAT "LINKAGE" SOVIETS BROKE OFF

CONTACT GROUP MEETING YESTERDAY AND UNILATERALLY (SUPPORTED BY POLAND AND EAST GERMANY) FORMALLY TABLED TEXT THAT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT IN CONTACT GROUP (REFTEL A) AS A DRAFT DECISION RPT DECISION FOR FINAL ACTION IN PLENARY. THIS ANNOYED WESTERN CAUCUS, BUT IT DECIDED NO SPECIFIC COUNTER ACTION WAS NECESSARY. THIS WAS DONE IN SPITE OF FACT THAT WEST HAD NOT AGREED TO FORM DOCUMENT SHOULD TAKE OR WHETHER IT SHOULD EVEN BE SEPARATE DOCUMENT AT ALL. (A NUMBER OF WESTERN -CAUCUS DELEGATIONS STILL FEEL SOVIET PROPOSAL SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO FUTURE ACTIVITIES RESOLUTION.) WEST HOLDING FIRM TO POSITION THAT POSITIVE EASTERN ACTION ON PRIORITIES IS STILL NECESSARY QUID PRO QUO FOR FAVORABLE WESTERN ACTION ON CONFERENCES DRAFT.

4. AFTER SEVERAL ANGRY INTERVENTIONS BY SOVIETS ON PRIORITY PROJECTS PROPOSAL, AT COB YESTERDAY THEY HAD AGREED IN CONTACT GROUP TO GIVE IT "FULL CONSIDERATION." SITUATION, HOWEVER, COMPLICATED BY ROMANIA WHICH SAID IT "IS NOT IN A POSITION TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSAL" AT THIS SESSION OF ECE. EVEN IF IT WERE, ROMANIA HOLDS TO VIEW THAT ONLY RPT ONLY PROJECTS TO WHICH PRIORITY COULD SPECIFICALLY BE ATTACHED ARE THOSE CLEARLY MANDATED TO ECE IN CSCE FINAL ACT. WHILE PRIVATELY SYMPATHETIC WITH WESTERN PROPOSAL, POLES HAVE TOLD US THAT IN PUBLIC THEY ARE ALSO UNABLE TO GIVE POSITIVE RESPONSE. OBVIOUSLY, KEY TO OUTCOME WILL BE FINAL SOVIET ATTITUDE AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS AS TO WHETHER WEST WOULD REALLY SCUTTLE THEIR PROPOSAL IN PLENARY AND THEY REMAIN INTRANSIGENT ON PRIORITIES LIST.

5. AS FAR AS WEST IS CONCERNED, THERE IS IN FACT POSSIBILITY THAT WESTERN SOLIDARITY MAY SOFTEN. EC-9 WERE NEVER ESPECIALLY ENTHUSIASTIC TO PRIORITIES PROPOSAL, THE IDEA FOR WHICH WAS TABLED BY THE NORWEGIANS, ALTHOUGH THE NINE HAD REPRESENTATIVE PRESENT DURING DRAFTING OF IT AND STRONGLY SUPPORTED IT IN PRINCIPLE DURING WESTERN CAUCUS DEBATES. SOME MEMBERS OF WESTERN CAUCUS HAVE SYMPATHY WITH SOVIET POINT THAT THEY GOT IT TOO LATE TO REALLY STUDY IT. SHOULD SOVIETS (AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 02744 091340Z

ROMANIANS) ACCEPT PRINCIPLE BEHIND PRIORITY PROJECTS CONCEPT BUT STAND FIRM ON NEED FOR FURTHER STUDY OF PROJECTS THEMSELVES, CONSENSUS COULD WELL DEVELOP WITHIN -WESTERN CAUCUS THAT THAT IS BEST WE COULD HOPE FOR AT THIS TIME. WE RECOMMEND REMAINING FIRM ON THIS ISSUE. WE FURTHER BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL ULTIMATELY CONCLUDE, HOPEFULLY CORRECTLY, THAT ACCEDING TO SOME SORT OF PRIORITIES LIST IS ONLY WAY THEY CAN OBTAIN WESTERN

ACCEPTANCE EVEN OF THEIR WATERED-DOWN PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, WE ARE ALSO MINDFUL OF DEPT'S CONCERN (REF C) THAT WE NOT GET IN FRONT OF, OF ISOLATED FROM, EC-9 AND OTHER ALLIES. ANY GUIDANCE DEPT WISHES FURNISH ON MATTER WOULD THEREFORE BE APPRECIATED.

6. AS OF NOON APRIL 9 WE HAVE RECEIVED SCATTERED REPORTS OF EASTERN MOVEMENT TOWARDS US ON PRIORITIES ISSUE. OUR FEARS RE WESTERN SOFTNESS WERE CONFIRMED IN WESTERN CAUCUS THIS MORNING WHEN SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRIA SPOKE OF POSSIBLE COMPROMISES. NORWAY REPLIED THAT THIS IS NOT THE TIME, BEFORE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS HAVE EVEN BEGUN, TO WEAKEN OUR RESOLVE. CAUCUS CHAIRMAN (UK AMBASSADOR) AGREED WEST SHOULD HOLD FIRM FOR MOMENT TO SEE WHERE NEGOTIATIONS LED. BELGIUM, SPEAKING FOR EC-9 AGREED. ONE POSSIBILITY CONSIDERED BY WESTERN CAUCUS WOULD BE TO DIVIDE PROJECTS INTO TWO LISTS: ONE OF PROJECTS SPECIFICALLY GIVEN TO ECE IN FINAL ACT, THE OTHER OF PROJECTS TAKEN FROM STANOVNIK'S REPORT (E/ECE/900), WITH BOTH LISTS RECEIVING EQUAL PRIORITY OR SPECIAL ATTENTION. NORWAY SAID IT COULD LIVE WITH SUCH A FORMULATION. WE BELIEVE US COULD ALSO.

7. SUBSEQUENT TO DRAFTING ABOVE PARAGRAPHS, LATE THIS MORNING SOVIETS (AMBASSADOR NESTERENKO) REQUESTED MEETING -WITH US TO DISCUSS PRIORITY LIST PROPOSAL. NESTERENKO STATED THAT EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN PAPER SHOULD NOT BE PRE-CONDITION FOR APPROVAL OF TEXT ON SOVIET PROPOSAL. HE THEN NOTED THAT THE TWO DOCUMENTS SHOULD BE SIMILAR, I.E., LIMITING GOVERNMENTS TO STUDYING THE RESPECTIVE PROPOSALS. US SIDE (BRUNGART) POINTED OUT THAT WEST ONLY WISHED TO ASSUME MAXIMUM CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 02744 091340Z

ECE CONTRIBUTION TO CSCE FOLLOW-UP AND THAT WE COULD NOT NOW MERELY "STUDY" SUBJECTS ALREADY FULLY AGREED ON AT HELSINKI. NESTERENKO SAID SOME PROJECTS ON WESTERN LIST CAUSED PROBLEMS, WHILE OTHERS WERE O.K. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED TRADE AND SAID SOVIETS WOULD PREFER NO LISTING OF TOPICS BUT ONLY GIVE INDICATION THAT GOVERNMENTS WOULD STUDY POSSIBLE PROJECTS IN TRADE AREA IN LIGHT OF FINAL ACT. BRUNGART SAID OUR LIST WAS CERTAINLY OPEN TO AMENDMENT AND DISCUSSION. FINALLY, NESTERENKO SAID US AND USSR SHOULD IMMEDIATELY SET UP BILATERAL WORKING GROUP TO TRY AND REACH AGREEMENT. WE SAID WESTERN CAUCUS SPOKESMAN WAS FULLY AWARE OF OUR VIEWS AND SPOKE FOR US AS WELL AS OTHER WESTERNERS.

8. MEETING WITH NESTERENKO APPEARS TO CONFIRM OUR

ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION AS REPORTED ABOVE. DALE

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